

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NASA-01 OES-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 10795

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJ: SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF APOLLO-SOYUZ

REF: A. MOSCOW 10463 B. MOSCOW 10748

1. SUMMARY. PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT IMMEDIATE BENEFIT WE RECEIVED FROM APOLLO-SOYUZ WAS THE UNUSUALLY FAVORABLE TREATMENT GIVEN TO THE U.S. IN SOVIET MEDIA DURING THE JOINT FLIGHT. WHILE PARTY PROPAGANDISTS WILL BE HARD AT WORK TRYING TO "BALANCE" THIS PICTURE OF THE U.S., WE BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT IN THE FUTURE FOR THE SOVIET CITIZENRY TO THINK OF US ONLY IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS.

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2. AN IMPORTANT PLUS FOR THE SOVIETS FROM THE PROJECT WAS INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THEM AS AN APPARENT EQUAL WITH THE U.S. IN SPACE TECHNOLOGY. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO THEM WAS SUCH SPECTACULAR CONFIRMATION OF THEIR POLITICAL SUITABILITY AS A PARTNER FOR THE U.S. IN SUCH AN ENDEAVOR. WE CAN HOPE THAT THEIR INCREASED SELF-CONFIDENCE RESULTING FROM THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT WILL LEAD TO MORE OPENNESS IN THE WAY THEY PARTICIPATE IN SUCH JOINT PROJECTS IN THE FUTURE--THOUGH WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO PUSH THEM TOWARD SUCH AN ATTITUDE. END SUMMARY.

3. MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE U.S. SOVIET MEDIA REPORTING ON THE JOINT APOLLO-SOYUZ PROJECT IS FINALLY WINDING DOWN, TWO WEEKS AFTER THE LAUNCH DATE. DURING THIS PERIOD THE PROJECT HAS BEEN COVERED EXTENSIVELY BOTH BY THE PRESS AND BY TELEVISION. IN VIRTUALLY ALL OF THIS COVERAGE THE NAME OF THE UNITED STATES WAS PRESENTED TO THE SOVIET PUBLIC IN AN UNFAILINGLY FAVORABLE CONTEXT. THE PROJECT THUS HAS NOT UNEXPECTEDLY RESULTED IN THE BEST PRESS WE HAVE RECEIVED IN THE SOVIET UNION IN YEARS--BETTER, IN OUR ESTIMATION, THAN EVEN DURING PAST SUMMITS AND PERHAPS THE MOST FAVORABLE SINCE THE WAR.

4. THE GOOD PRESS WAS NARROWLY FOCUSED. THE MEDIA WAS CAREFUL TO STRESS THAT THE PROJECT WAS A PRECURSOR OF FURTHER COOPERATION IN SPACE; AT ITS MOST EXPANSIVE IT MOVED THE LIMITS OF COOPERATION OUT TO INCLUDE ALL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL FIELDS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, MOST SOVIET COMMENTARY GAVE DUE CREDIT TO THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT, AND AS ONE REFLECTION OF THIS, CRITICAL REPORTING ON THE U.S. DROPPED OFF SHARPLY. THE USUAL NEEDLING ITEMS ON U.S. DOMESTIC PROBLEMS OR DISTORTED REPORTING ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY WHICH USUALLY ACCOUNT FOR NEARLY ALL COVERAGE ON THE U.S. VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED. TO CITE JUST ONE BLATANT EXAMPLE OF SOVIET BENDING OVER BACKWARD IN THIS REGARD, SOVIET TV COVERAGE OF SOME RECONSTRUCTION WORK NOW GOING ON IN SOUTH VIETNAM POINTED TO THE DESTRUCTION WROUGHT BY FOREIGN AGGRESSORS AND THEN NOTED THAT SOUTH KOREAN TROOPS HAD BEEN GUILTY

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OF SUCH ACTIONS IN THE AREA BEING PHOTOGRAPHED. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE U.S. ONLY TOWARD THE END OF THE TWO-WEEK PERIOD DID ANTI-AMERICAN ARTICLES AGAIN BEGIN TO REAPPEAR. (SOME BROADLY GAUGED VIGILANCE-TYPE PROPAGANDA APPEARED IN BOTH CENTRAL AND LOCAL PAPERS SHORTLY AFTER THE LANDING OF SOYUZ-19; IT WAS NOT, HOWEVER, AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT THE U.S.)

5. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR FORD, ONE OF THE MOST SEASONED FOREIGN OBSERVERS OF SOVIET EVENTS, HAS REMARKED TO US THAT HE HAD BEEN ESPECIALLY IMPRESSED BY THE FAVORABLE COVERAGE OF THE U.S. BROUGHT ON BY THE PROJECT. HE MUSED THAT SUCH COVERAGE MUST MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR SUSLOV AND SIMILAR IDEOLOGUES TO MAINTAIN AS MUCH EMPHASIS AS THEY WOULD LIKE ON THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CLASS ENEMIES IN THE WEST. FORD THOUGHT THAT THE TONE OF THE COVERAGE WENT CONSIDERABLY BEYOND WHAT HE WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED A NECESSARY MINIMUM. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT BREZHNEV HAS PROMINENTLY ASSOCIATED HIS NAME WITH THE PROJECT, AND BY IMPLICATION WITH THE TYPE OF COVERAGE AFFORDED THE PROJECT BY SOVIET MEDIA.

6. WE GENERALLY AGREE WITH FORD'S LINE OF REASONING, BUT WOULD BE HESITANT TO CARRY IT TOO FAR. THE POSITIVE TREATMENT OF THE U.S. IN THE PRESS MUST HAVE SOMEWHAT DISCOMFITED THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA APPARATUS; BUT WE WOULD EXPECT THEM TO REBOUND AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. (THEY MAY WELL HAVE ALREADY BEGUN THIS EFFORT WITH, INTER ALIA, A SHARP ATTACK ON SECRETARY SCHLESINGER IN NOVOYE VREMYA (REF A) AND AN ATTACK ON U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA (REF B) IN THAT SAME PUBLICATION.) HOWEVER, WE WOULD ALSO EXPECT THE IDEOLOGUES TO CONTINUE TO HAVE TO WORK UNDER SOMETHING MORE THAN THE USUAL RESTRAINTS FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS. CSCE FESTIVITIES, THE FALL SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON WHICH WILL HOPEFULLY INCLUDE A SALT AGREEMENT, AND VISITS BY GISCARD AND OTHER WESTERN LEADERS WILL DICTATE CIRCUMSPECTION WITH REGARD TO WESTERN SENSIBILITIES IN GENERAL AND THOSE OF THE U.S. IN PARTICULAR. IN ANY CASE, AFTER THE SEVERAL WEEKS DURING WHICH THE CONCEPT OF THE U.S. AS A PARTNER COOPERATING WITH THE USSR IN COMPLEX AND BENEFICIAL PROJECTS HAS BEEN

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STRESSED, IT WILL BE HARDER FOR THE PROPAGANDIST TO PORTRAY US SIMPLY AS A CLASS ENEMY.

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7. INTERNATIONAL PARITY AND THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP.

SEVERAL RECENT COMMENTARIES (MATVEYEV IN IZVESTIYA ON JULY 28, FOR EXAMPLE) HAVE, IN FACT, COME CLOSE TO EQUATING THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE APOLLO-SOYUZ PROJECT TO THAT OF THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. GIVEN THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE THE SOVIET AScribe TO THE LATTER, SUCH EMPHASIS ON THE PROJECT IS NOTEWORTHY. WE THINK THE SOVIET SEE THE TWO EVENTS AS CONSOLIDATING THEIR STATUS AS A STATE POLITICALLY ON THE SAME MORAL PLANE AS WESTERN EUROPE ON THE ONE HAND AND SCIENTIFICALLY AND TECHNOLOGICALLY ON THE SAME PLANE AS THE U.S. ON THE OTHER. SUCH ACCEPTANCE AS AN EQUAL BY OTHER NATIONS CONTINUES TO MEAN A GREAT DEAL

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TO THE SOVIETS, WHO STILL SUFFER FROM THE TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN INFERIORITY COMPLEX.

8. MORE OBVIOUSLY, HOWEVER, BOTH APOLLO-SOYUZ AND CSCE ARE PATENTLY THE PRODUCTS OF THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST AND ARE BOTH PERSONALLY ASSOCIATED WITH BREZHNEV.

BOTH ARE BREAKTHROUGHS IN THEIR OWN AREAS WHICH OPEN BEFORE THE SOVIETS THE PROSPECT OF GENERAL INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THEIR RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE FULLY ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE. AND, IMPORTANT FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW, THIS RIGHT TO FULL PARTICIPATION DOES NOT ENTAIL SURRENDERING THEIR BELIEF IN THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST NON-COMMUNIST STATES. THEIR OWN COMMENTARIES STRESS THAT RECENT "PROGRESS" IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS--AND THEY WOULD RANK BOTH APOLLO-SOYUZ AND CSCE IN THAT LISTING--IS EVIDENCE OF WIDENING ACCEPTANCE OF "THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." THESE PRINCIPLES OF COURSE MAKE PROVISIONS NOT ONLY FOR COOPERATION, BUT ALSO FOR CONTINUED WAGING OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH ALL THAT IMPLIES.

9. SELF-CONFIDENCE AND OPENNESS. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL GOALS OF OUR COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIETS HAS BEEN TO BREAK DOWN THEIR PENCHANT FOR SECRECY AND THEIR REFUSAL TO EXCHANGE ANY BUT THE MOST ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY INFORMATION. IT IS ALREADY APPARENT THAT THE ASTP PROJECT HAS BROUGHT SOME PROGRESS IN THIS REGARD; THE INVITATION TO THE AMBASSADOR TO OBSERVE THE LAUNCHING AT BAYKONUR WAS A BREAKTHROUGH IN ITSELF, AS WAS THE FIRST TELEVISED LAUNCH AND CAPSULE LANDING. OUR SCIENCE OFFICE SENSED EASED CONTACT WITH SOVIET COUNTERPARTS ON OTHER MATTERS DURING THE FLIGHT ITSELF. THUS, WE CAN HOPE THAT INCREASING SOVIET SELF-CONFIDENCE RESULTING FROM SUCH SPECTACULAR SUCCESSES AS APOLLO-SOYUZ WILL MAKE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR US TO COOPERATE WITH THEM IN THE FUTURE ON OTHER SCIENTIFIC MATTERS AND PERHAPS IN OTHER FIELDS AS WELL.

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